

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 19771

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PERSONAL FOR THE SECRETARY ONLY
FROM AMBASSADOR BREWSTER

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM UK XA
SUBJECT: YOUR MEETING WITH DAVID OWEN

1. IN AN IMMODEST DESIRE TO BE USEFUL TO YOUR PREPARATIONS FOR YOUR DISCUSSIONS THIS WEEK WITH DAVID OWEN IN BRUSSELS, THE FOLLOWING ARE MY THOUGHTS ABOUT THREE MATTERS YOU SHOULD TAKE UP WITH HIM AND MY PERSONAL JUDGMENTS ABOUT THE POSITIONS YOU SHOULD TAKE.

2. RHODESIA. DAVID OBVIOUSLY WANTS TO SIT ON THE SIDELINES FOR A WHILE. THIS IS FOR FOUR REASONS. FIRST, HE THINKS THERE IS SOME SLIGHT HOPE FOR AN ACCEPTABLE SMITH SETTLEMENT. SECOND, HE IS OBVIOUSLY PIQUED BY KAUNDA'S DIVERSION FROM THE COMMON FRONT. THIRD, HE IS WORRIED THAT FAILURE TO GIVE SMITH THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT WOULD CAUSE TROUBLE AS FAR AS DOMESTIC UK COMMENT AND POLITICAL OPINION IS CONCERNED. FOURTH, HE IS HEAVILY COMMITTED THROUGH MID-DECEMBER AND HE HAS SCHEDULED A BADLY-NEEDED FAMILY HOLIDAY WHICH HE PLANS TO TAKE FOR ABOUT THE FIRST TEN DAYS IN JANUARY.

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3. WHILE ALL OF THESE CONSIDERATIONS DESERVE RESPECT, I THINK IT IS IMPERATIVE TO MAKE SOME SHOW OF CONTINUED COMMITMENT AND FORWARD MOVEMENT OF OUR JOINT INITIATIVE. OWEN AT LEAST PARTIALLY SEEKS TO SHARE THIS VIEW AS REFLECTED IN HIS MEETINGS WITH MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE AND HIS HOPES FOR LATER MEETINGS ALSO IN LONDON WITH PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS. SEEMING PASSIVITY, LET ALONE

ABANDONMENT OF OUR INITIATIVE, WOULD LEAD SMITH TO BELIEVE THAT HE COULD SLITHER OUT OF A SEEMING COMMITMENT TO UNQUALIFIED UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE. SECOND, IT WOULD LET DOWN OUR SUPPORTERS, PARTICULARLY NYERERE. FINALLY, IF SMITH'S DEMARCHE PROVES HOLLOW, IT WOULD BE HARDER FOR US TO RESUME A CREDIBLE INITIATIVE IF WE WERE TO BE SILENT MUCH LONGER.

4. IF AN OWEN-YOUNG MEETING WITH THE FRONT LINE IS NOT ON, AT LEAST WE SHOULD CRANK UP SOME ALTERNATIVE SERIES OF WHISTLE-STOP VISITS SOON, PERHAPS BY GRAHAM AND LOW, IF ONLY TO PRESENT THE ELABORATED CONSTITUTIONAL AND OTHER PAPERS DESIGNED TO ANSWER QUESTIONS RAISED IN THE LAST TWO MONTHS.

5. WHILE DAVID WILL SAY THAT THE ONLY ISSUE BETWEEN US IS TIMING, I THINK THAT A FORCEFUL PUSH FROM YOU IS ESSENTIAL IF HE IS NOT TO DRIFT INTO WISHFUL PROCRASTINATION.

6. ECONOMIC SUMMIT. DAVID CAN BE VALUABLE TO OUR SUMMIT PREPARATIONS BECAUSE OF HIS ACCESS TO CALLAGHAN, HIS RAPPORT WITH HIS EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES, AND HIS AWARENESS OF THE ECONOMIC ROOTS OF MANY CURRENT PROBLEMS. HIS OVERSEAS ORIENTATION AND POLITICAL INSTINCTS, MOREOVER, PROVIDE A GOOD BALANCING WEIGHT TO DENNIS

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HEALEY. I RECOMMEND THEREFORE THAT YOU WHET HIS INTEREST IN A MORE ACTIVE PERSONAL ROLE IN UK PREPARATIONS BY OUTLINING OUR HOPES FOR THE SUMMIT AND URGING HIM TO CONTINUE TO SHARE WITH YOU HIS VIEWS IN THE MONTHS AHEAD. ON TIMING FOR THE SUMMIT, UK VIEWS ARE NOT DETERMINING OR STRONGLY HELD, BUT I BELIEVE YOU SHOULD TELL DAVID THAT WE WANT THE BRITISH TO SHARE IN THE DECISION, NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THEIR OWN INTERESTS, BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF THEIR CLOSE TIES TO GERMANY. MY OWN VIEW IS THAT THE JAPANESE NEED MORE TIME TO SHOW WHAT THEY CAN DO THAN A SPRING GATHERING WOULD PERMIT. ALSO, AN ECONOMIC SUMMIT REQUIRES MORE PREPARATION AND FRESH THINKING THAN A SIMPLE, HURRIED REPETITION OF LAST MAY.

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 19771

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ALL OF THIS SEEMS TO AUGUR BETTER FOR A JULY DATE,
RATHER THAN APRIL, A VIEW I BELIEVE THE BRITISH SHARE.

7. QUADRILATERAL OR TRILATERAL MEETING ON SALT.
WHILE DAVID, AS YOU KNOW, BELIEVES STRONGLY IN THE
QUADRILATERAL FORUM, I DO NOT SENSE THAT THE BRITISH
FEEL ANY URGENT NEED FROM THEIR OWN POINT OF VIEW FOR A
SPECIAL MEETING ON STRATEGIC ISSUES. HOWEVER, I AGREE
WITH MICHAEL PALLISER'S OBSERVATION TO ME LAST WEEK THAT
IT WOULD HIGHLY BENEFIT THE GERMAN PSYCHE TO GO FORWARD
WITH SUCH A DISCUSSION EVEN THOUGH IT MEANS A TRILATERAL
MEETING IF THE FRENCH WON'T PLAY.

8. IT IS MY STRONG FEELING THAT OUR MAIN ALLIES,
ESPECIALLY THE GERMANS, NEED TO FEEL THAT THEY ARE BEING
DEALT WITH AUTHORITATIVELY ON SALT AND RELATED ISSUES,
ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE LARGE NUMBER OF OFFICIAL US
VOICES FROM WHICH THEY HAVE HEARD OF LATE ON THESE
SUBJECTS, THE INCREASINGLY HEATED DEBATE AMONG SENATORS
AND THEIR STAFFS AND THE RISING PRESS COVERAGE.
THUS, I BELIEVE YOU SHOULD BE QUITE CANDID WITH OUR KEY
ALLIES ABOUT NON-CIRCUMVENTION/NON-TRANSFER ISSUES AND
CONVEY CREDIBLE REASSURANCE THAT THE PROTOCOL IS NOT
SELF-EXTENDING AND THAT THE ADMINISTRATION CAN BE
COUNTED UPON TO INSIST THAT THREE YEARS MEANS JUST WHAT

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IT SAYS.

9. IN ANY OFFICIAL FOLLOW-UP ON A QUADRIPARTITAL
OR TRIPARTITE BASIS IT WILL BE TERRIBLY IMPORTANT
TO HAVE THE US SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE, BACKED BY ALL
THE AGENCIES INVOLVED. TOO MANY INTERPRETERS OF US

INTENTIONS ARE BOUND TO CREATE CONFUSION, PUZZLEMENT
AND SKEPTICISM.

10. FINALLY, I THINK YOU WILL FIND THAT DAVID'S VIEWS
AND THOSE OF HIS COLLEAGUES REFLECT AN UNEASINESS
GROWING FROM UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT THE FUTURE STRATEGIC
AND THEATER BALANCE AND THE PROLONGED RECESSION.
THEY NEED REASSURANCE OF THE PRIORITY WHICH YOU AND
THE PRESIDENT GIVE TO THE EUROPEAN COMMITMENT AND TO THE
PATIENCE WITH CANDID CONSULTATION WHICH THAT IMPLIES.
WHILE I DETECT NO PETULANCE, NOT EVEN SKEPTICISM, ON THE
PART OF THE BRITISH, I KNOW THEY WILL WELCOME YOUR
POSITIVE LEADERSHIP AT BRUSSELS.

BREWSTER

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